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SHAKSPERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

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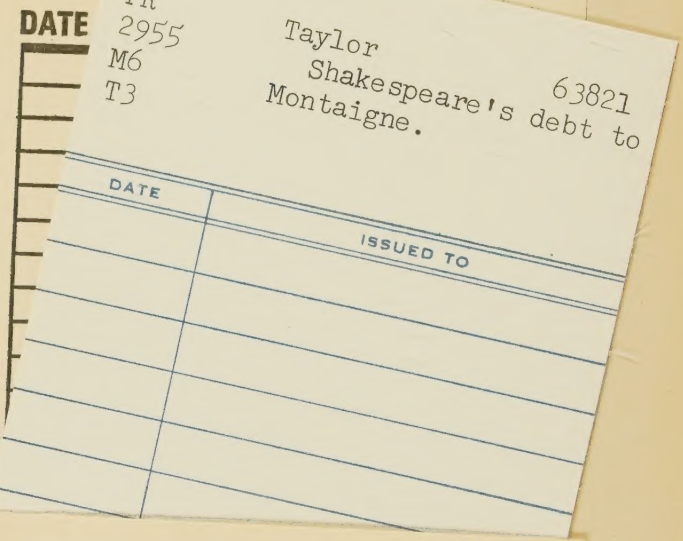
Shakespeare's debt to
Montaigne.



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SHAKSPERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE

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SHAKSPERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE

BY

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR 1877-

"What custom wills, in all things should we do it,
The dust on antique time would lie unswept."
CORIOLANUS, II, III, 125, 126.

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PREFACE

IT has long been known to scholars that one passage in the Essays of Montaigne influenced Shakspere in his play, *The Tempest*. More than one writer has contended that the influence of Montaigne upon Shakspere extended beyond this single passage. Especially worthy of notice are the studies upon the subject of J. M. Robertson, Miss Elizabeth Robins Hooker, Miss Grace Norton and Madame Longworth-Chambrun, each of whom has gathered together valuable and interesting material. But in spite of all contributions to the subject, the theory of Montaigne's extensive influence upon Shakspere has not been generally conceded by the leading authorities on Shakspere. This little volume is written with the purpose of contributing additional citations from the Florio Montaigne, so numerous and so definitely similar in both thought and phrase to passages in Shakspere's plays, that the conclusion will be unescapable that Shakspere was very extensively affected by the Essays of Montaigne.

Incidentally, it is hoped that certain passages cited in these pages will throw additional light upon a few very obscure passages in the plays not hitherto satisfactorily explained.

My thanks are due to Professor G. L. Kittredge for his very valuable advice and assistance, to Professor John M.

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Manly for help in bibliography, to Dr. George Norlin, President of the University of Colorado, and to Professor John S. McLucas of that University, for aid in the preparation of the manuscript.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
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SHAKSPERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE

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ONE hundred and fifty-one years after Shakspere's death Capell [1] noted a borrowing by Shakspere from the Essays of Montaigne. The passage in *The Tempest* and that in the Essay *Of the Cannibals*, to which he then directed attention, are so patently similar that since then no one has ever doubted, in this particular instance, the influence of Montaigne upon Shakspere. Although another hundred and fifty odd years has now gone by since Capell made his discovery, one may literally count on one's fingers the scholars [2] who have hazarded the suggestion that the influence of Montaigne perhaps extended beyond the original citation of Capell. Of the similarities heretofore noted, Hooker [3] and Upham,[4]

1. Edward Capell, *Notes and Various Readings to Shakspeare* (London, 1784), vol. ii, p. 63, part iv. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare* (London, 1897), p. 3, gives as the date of this Capell note, 1767. Perhaps he has access to a three-volume edition of Capell's notes (the Montaigne note is not in Capell's earlier one-volume edition) antedating the edition accessible to me in America.

2. G. F. Stedefeld, *Hamlet: ein Tendenzdrama Shakespeare's gegen die skeptische und kosmopolitische Weltanschauung des Michael de Montaigne* (Berlin, 1871); Karl Elze, *Life of Shakspere* (Berlin, 1872); Karl Elze, *Shakspere* (Berlin, 1872); Jacob Feis, *Shakspere and Montaigne* (London, 1884); J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare;* William Carew Hazlitt, *Essays* of Montaigne, in 4 vols. (New York, 1902), vol. i, pp. v, viii, xi, 11, 72, 82, 89, 111, 243; vol. ii, pp. 23, 294; vol. iv, p. 147; Elizabeth Robins Hooker, "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xvii (n. s. x.), 1902; Edward Dowden, *Michel de Montaigne* (French Men of Letters, ed. by Alexander Jessup, Philadelphia and London, 1905), pp. 63, 243, 358; Miss Grace Norton, *The Spirit of Montaigne* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1908), pp. 49 ff.; A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature* (New York, 1911); Walter Pater, *Gaston de Latour* (New York, 1911), pp. 107, 118; Longworth-Chambrun, *Giovanni Florio* (Paris, 1921). For others who have ventured the opinion that Shakspere was influenced by Montaigne without attempting to substantiate that opinion with citations, see Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, pp. 1 ff.

3. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1902), xvii, 350 ff.

4. *The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 529 ff.

the most recent writers to attempt a survey of the entire field, consider perhaps thirty-one as worthy of mention. Of these parallels, twenty-three are in plays written during and after 1603, the date of the publication of the Florio Montaigne. And of them all, perhaps eight are so closely similar in word and phrase as to preclude any possibility of doubt. But despite these contributions to the subject, the historians of English Literature, and the great Shaksphereans also, are apparently unconvinced. "It may be said at once," remarks Churton Collins,[1] "that of all the parallel passages adduced there is not one, except that from *The Tempest*, which may not resolve itself into a mere coincidence." Raleigh[2] likewise remarks: "The similarity seems to spring from the natural kinship of questioning minds. The only passage of importance which Shakspere certainly borrowed directly from Montaigne (that in *The Tempest*) bears no witness to discipleship in thought." From France finally comes the even more vigorous denial by Pierre Villey[3] of any borrowing by Shakspere from Montaigne beyond the *Tempest* passage. After surveying the works of Robertson, Miss Hooker, and Miss Norton, he concludes, "Cent zéros additionnés ensemble ne font toujours que zéro." It would be difficult indeed to find so much as one Shakspere critic "of expert and approved allowance" who definitely commits himself to the proposition that the influence of Montaigne extends beyond this well-known passage. Sir Sidney Lee[4] is apparently the only authority who has gone on record as in any degree inclined to favor the view of Robertson, the leading exponent in England of the theory of an extensive indebtedness of Shakspere to Montaigne.

It is the design of the present study to force the issue. By the contribution of about a hundred close phrasal correspondences and

1. *Studies in Shakspere* (1904), p. 280.
2. *Shakespeare* (1911), p. 76.
3. *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, a Book of Homage to Shakespeare (1916), pp. 417 ff.
4. *The French Renaissance in England* (1910), pp. 175 ff.

of about a hundred additional parallels deserving of notice, and by the compilation of a glossary of about seven hundred and fifty words, selected from Florio's Montaigne, which were used by Shakspere during and after, but not before 1603 (the date of Florio's first publication of the Essays), it proposes to demonstrate that Shakspere was, beyond any doubt, profoundly and extensively influenced by Montaigne; definitely influenced in regard to vocabulary, phrases, short and long passages, and, after a fashion, influenced also in thought. At the outset, however, it may be well to forestall objections by stating that the writer by no means contends that Shakspere was in thought a follower or a disciple of Montaigne, as will be more fully indicated in the course of the discussion.

That the custodians of Shaksperean scholarship should, in the face of the facts brought to light in more recent years, remain stolidly indifferent, or at least unconvinced, may at first sight seem surprising. It is small wonder, however, that those who know most about Shakspere and care most for him should display this tendency to insist that assurance in such a case should be double sure. The Baconians have brought the argument from parallels into such disrepute that one no sooner bases a case upon them than the critic smilingly assumes that he is being invited to play Monsieur Jacques's game of calling fools into a circle, and refuses to respond to the cry of *ducdame*.

The critic is aware of the hundred and one pitfalls lying even in the beaten way of anyone who sets out to trace literary influences in Elizabethan literature. He realizes that he who relies upon parallel passages, or upon correspondences in thought, or even in phrase, in writers of that age, is attempting to "swim with fins of lead" or "hew down oaks with rushes." He understands how easy it is for one who fails to take into account the innumerable literary commonplaces of that day to pursue conclusions infinite in regard to influences and counter-influences. A goodly number of stock phrases,

stock ideas, stock passages were the common property of the thinkers, talkers, and writers of the time. This renders the problem baffling. Whenever, for example, two similar passages in two writers go back to a common origin in Plutarch or Seneca, the investigator has, so to speak, a herring drawn across the trail, and is forced, from that point on, to walk circumspectly. Now it is certain that both Shakspere and Montaigne drank deep and often of Plutarch; as Montaigne has it, "he can no sooner come into my sight, or if I cast but a glance upon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him." By Plutarch both Shakspere and Montaigne were profoundly affected, to the extent even of the very quality of their thought. This makes the problem doubly baffling. Shakspere and Florio were, moreover, doubtless reading the same books, or talking with the same literary people, on different days of the same week, possibly even reading each other's works simultaneously.[1] This renders the problem trebly baffling. If Shakspere had never read a line of Montaigne, he would inevitably have employed many of the same wise saws and modern instances, the stock phrases and literary commonplaces of their age, and likewise many of the same brilliant detached thoughts and fragments of thought in which the literature of the age of Elizabeth and James abounded. Take one somewhat remarkable instance of misleading similarity.

SHAKSPERE	MONTAIGNE[2]
Some men there are love not a gaping pig; *Some*, that are mad if they behold a *cat;* *And others*, when the bagpipe sings i' the nose,	I have seene *some* to startle at the smell of an apple, more than at the shot of a peece; *some* to be frighted with a mouse, *some* readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, *and others* to be scared with seeing a

1. For reference to the probable intimacy of Shakspere and Florio see *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xvii, 312 ff.; Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 281 ff.; Longworth-Chambrun, *Giovanni Florio*, pp. 100 ff.

2. *The Essays of Montaigne done in English by John Florio*, published by David Nutt, London, 1892 (Tudor Translation).

Cannot contain their urine: for affection,
Master of passion, sways it to the mood
Of what it likes or loathes. Now for your answer:
As there is no firm reason to be rendered,
Why he *cannot abide* a gaping pig;
Why he, a harmless necessary *cat;*
Why he, a woolen bagpipe, but of force
Must yield to such inevitable shame
As to offend himself, being *offended.*

MERCHANT OF VENICE, iv, 1, 47.

fetherbed shaken: as Germanicus, *who could not abide* to see a cock, or heare his crowing. — Book I, 177.

I have seene *some* who, without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne under their table: and we see a few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh and teeth-edging noise that Smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of iron and steele together: *others* will be *offended* if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat aloude; nay *some* will be angrie with or hate a man, that speaks in the nose or rattles in the throat. — II, 322.

Here surely, one thinks, in spite of the prevalency of this doctrine of antipathies in mediæval literature, is a relation of some sort between the two passages, in view especially of the word "abide" in both. Except for the early date of *The Merchant of Venice*, one would naturally conclude that somehow the Shakspere passage had been influenced by the Montaigne passage.

This example is fairly illustrative of "the net, the lime, the pitfall, and the gin" which lie in the way of any one who attempts to trace the extent of the indebtedness of Shakspere to Montaigne. And yet, notwithstanding the number and the peculiar nature of the difficulties, it is possible to establish the fact that such indebtedness is far and away greater than has hitherto been supposed or acknowledged, and possible to establish it, not by resorting to "exsufflicate and blown surmises," but by methods of reasoning, definite, sane, and conclusive.

The facts upon which the formal proof of this discussion is based fall naturally into the three divisions already suggested: First, that which deals with a group of passages in the Florio Montaigne and in plays of Shakspere *written during 1603 and after*, so similar in phrase-

ology as practically to preclude all possibility of doubt.[1] Second, another group of passages and phrases in the Florio Montaigne and in Shakspere's plays written during and after 1603, which, though not so strikingly similar in phraseology as to preclude all doubt, are yet similar enough to make one feel that the Shaksperean passage could not have taken on its final form unless Shakspere had made the acquaintance of the Montaigne passage. Third, a list of approximately seven hundred and fifty words and phrases from the Florio Montaigne used also by Shakspere, but never in any composition of his antedating 1603 — many of them words and phrases of rare and unusual quality, bold and striking in the extreme, and many of them, if one may judge from the Oxford Dictionary, never used by anyone before 1603. The proportion of passages and of words in the plays nearest in date to 1603 and farthest removed in date from 1603 will be found especially significant in the table of averages (pp. 29, 32).

It should be kept in mind that each of these three groups of passages and words, especially the second and third, would be larger if we included those plays of Shakspere that were written in 1600, 1601, and 1602, the years during which Shakspere very probably had access to the Florio, so to speak, in quarto rather than in folio form, or had at least the opportunity of reading some other translation of this Essay or that as it appeared during these years in England from time to time.[2] Other papers bearing on the Montaigne–Shakspere question have taken into consideration the plays written during 1600, 1601, 1602, but the critical attitude assumed by the more conservative Shakspereans makes it safer to avoid those phases of the

1. A few of the passages cited in this discussion, both from Shakspere and from Montaigne, have been cited already by Robertson and Hooker, but never in connection with the passage placed opposite to them in this paper. If a word or phrase cited in this discussion has been noted by others, that fact is noted.

2. See "The Relation of Shakspere to Montaigne," *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, xvii, 349 ff.; *The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 266 ff.

discussion naturally subject to cavil or controversy.[1] The second [2] and third groups, consisting of the general resemblances and the glossary of words, have been relegated to the Appendices,[3] where the specialist may, if he chooses, pursue his inquiry further. The first group of facts, made up of the passages in which the correspondence in phraseology between the Florio Montaigne and Shakspere is convincing, is placed immediately before the reader. Should he conclude that the portion of the discussion based on this group of facts "blasts in proof," he will but waste his time wading further into the matter, for the best wares are offered first.

SHAKSPERE [4]	MONTAIGNE
Is *man* no more than this? *Consider him well.* Thou ow'st the worm no *silk*, the beast no *hide*, the sheep no *wool*, the cat no *perfume*. Ha! here's three on's are *sophisticated!* Thou art the thing itself: unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, *bare*, forked *animal* as thou art. Off, off, you *lendings!* LEAR, iii, 4, 107.	Miserable *man; whom* if you *consider well* what is he? — Book II, 172. Truely, when I *consider man* all *naked* . . . and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections, I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakedness than any *creature* else. We may be excused for *borrowing* those which nature had therein favored more than us with their beauties to adorne us, and under their spoiles of *wooll*, of *haire*, of *feathers*, and of *silks*, to shroud us. — II, 184. And that our wisdome should *learne of beasts*, the most profitable documents,

1. Objections may be raised to the assumption by the writer that *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Troilus and Cressida* were written during 1603 or after. The number of authorities who assume this, however, is so great as to make it necessary to take these plays into account.

2. Many phrases cited in the Appendices are so remarkable as to make it almost certain that Shakspere got them from Montaigne. The list cited in the main body of the paper is, however, already long enough.

3. See pp. 49 ff.

4. The plays are not taken up in chronological order. For example, the parallels in *Lear* are listed first because they are, on the whole, the most striking. Within the individual plays the best parallels are listed first, irrespective of their order in acts and scenes.

belonging to our chiefest and most necessary parts of life. . . . Where with (with reason) men have done, as perfumers doe with oyle, they have adulterated her with so many argumentations, and *sophisticated* her. — III, 310.

Allow not *nature* more than *nature needs*,
Man's life is *cheap* as beast's.
LEAR, ii, 4, 270.

If that which *Nature* doth exactly and originally *require* at our handes for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what is it, and how good *cheape our life* may be maintained, cannot better be known or expressed than by this consideration). — III, 264.

When misery could beguile the *tyrant's* rage
And *frustrate his proud will.*
LEAR, iv, 6, 63.

Frustrate the *Tyrants cruelty*. — I, 239.

Approve the common saw.
LEAR, ii, 2, 167.

Approve the common saying. — I, 364.

The *art* of *our necessities* is strange,
And can make vile things *precious.*
LEAR, iii, 2, 70.

Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as she for *our necessityes* hath enjoyned unto us, should also be *voluptuous* unto us.
III, 383.

Then 't is like *the breath of an unfee'd lawyer;* you gave me nothing for 't.
LEAR, i, 4, 142.

The breath of a Lawyer. — II, 63.

Lawyers, breath-sellers. — I, 115.

You relate simply your case unto a *Lawyer;* he answers faltring. . . . *Have you paid him well*, have you given him a good baite or *fee?* . . . Then will his reason . . . be enflamed with all.
II, 286.

And *take upon 's the mystery of things*
As if we were God's spies.
LEAR, v, 3, 16.

These people who . . . yet will *take upon them . . . to know all:*
What cause doth calme the sea, what clears the year,
Whether Stars forc 't or of selfe will appeare;
What makes the moone's darke Orbe to wax or wane. —II, 251.

There thou mightest behold the *great image of authority:* a dog's obey'd in office.
Thou *rascal beadle*, hold thy bloody hand!
Why dost thou *lash that whore?* Strip thy own back;
Thou hotly lusts to use her in that kind
For which thou whip'st her. *The userer hangs the cozener.*
LEAR, iv, 6, 162 ff.

The Schoolemaster whippeth his scholler for his docility, and *the guide stricketh the blinde man* he leadeth. A *horrible image of justice.* — III, 18.

Goatish disposition.
LEAR, i, 2, 138.

Apish disposition. — III, 104.

I'll look no more,
Lest *my brain turn*, and the deficient *sight*
Topple down *headlong.*
LEAR, iv, 6, 23 ff.

But *the sight of* that exceeding *height* must needs . . . *turne his senses.*
II, 321.

LEAR: Thou think'st 't is much that this contentious storm
Invades us to the skin; so 't is to thee;
But *where the greater malady is fix'd,*
The lesser is scarce felt. . . .
When the mind's free,
The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind
Doth from my senses take all feeling else
Save what beats there. Filial ingratitude!
LEAR, iii, 4, 6.

To a pensive and heart-grieved man a cleare day seems gloomie and duskie. *Our senses are* not onely *altered*, but many times *dulled*, *by* the *passions of the mind.* How many *things see we*, *which we perceive not*, *if* our *mind be* either busied or *distracted elsewhere?*
II, 323.

EDG. (*aside*). And worse I may be yet; the worst is not
So long as we can say, "This is the worst."
LEAR, iv, 1, 29.

Let us measure our selves by that which is beneath us, there is no creature so miserably wretched, but findes a thousand examples to comfort himselfe withall. — III, 203.

Adultery?
Thou shalt not die. *Die for adultery!* No:
. . . . . .
Behold yond *simp'ring dame*,
Whose face between her forks presages snow,

Of the same paper, whereon a Judge *writ* but even now *the condemnation against an adulterer*, hee will teare a scantlin, thereon to write some lovelines to his fellow-judges wife. *The same woman* from whom you came lately, and with whom you have *com-*

That minces virtue, and *does shake the head*
To hear of pleasure's name, —
The fitchew, nor the soiled horse, *goes to 't*
With a more *riotous appetite.*
LEAR, iv, 6, 112, 120 ff.

Thou *rascal beadle,* hold thy bloody hand!
Why dost thou *lash that whore?* Strip thy own back;
Thou hotly *lusts to use her* in that kind
For which thou whip'st her. The userer hangs the cozener.
LEAR, iv, 6, 164.

mitted that *unlawfull-pleasing sport, will* soone after even in your presence, *raile and scold* more bitterly *against the same fault in her neighbor,* than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And *some condemne men to die for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults.*
III, 240, 241.

GLOU. (*reads*). "This policy and *reverence of age makes the world bitter to the best of our times;* keeps our fortunes from us till our oldness cannot relish them. *I* begin to *find an idle* and *fond bondage in the oppression of aged tyranny;* who sways, not as it hath power, but as it is suffer'd. Come to me, that of this I may speak more. If our father would sleep till I wak'd him, you should enjoy half his revenue for ever, and live the beloved of your brother. — EDGAR."

. . . . . .

EDM. Never, my lord; but I have heard him oft *maintain it to be fit that, sons at perfect age, and fathers declin'd,* the father should be as ward to the son, and *the son manage his revenue.*
LEAR, i, 2, 48, 76.

It is meere injustice to see an *old,* crazed, sinnow-shronken, and *nigh dead father* sitting alone in a Chimny-corner, to *enjoy so many goods as would suffice for* the preferment and *entertainment of many children,* and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to *suffer them to lose their best dayes and yeares,* without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into dispaire, to seeke, by some way how unlawfull soever to provide for their necessaries. — II, 69.

But a *father over-burthened with yeares* and crazed through sicknesse and by reason of weaknesse and want of health, barred from the common society of men, *doth* both *wrong himself,* injure his, idely and *to* no use to hoord up, and *keepe close a great heape of riches,* and a deal of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not say to his shirt, but to a good warme night-gown. As for other pompe and trash whereof hee hath no

longer use or need, *hee ought* willingly *to distribute* and bestow *them amongst those, to whom by naturall degree they ought to belong.* It is reason he should have the use, and bequeath the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. — II, 73.

For, it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrksome unto children; and, which is worse, ridiculous. *They have youth and strength* in their hands, and consequently the breath and favour of the world; *and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish* fierce, and *tyrannical countenances, from a man that hath no lusty bloud left him,* neither in his heart nor in his vaines; meere bug-beares, and scar-crowes, to scare birdes with all. — II, 76.

Handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?

LEAR, iv, 6, 157.

Handy-dandy, what is this? — III, 177.

Gor'd state.

LEAR, v, 3, 320.

Mangled *estate.* — II, 8.

Gored. — II, 8.

State all torne. — III, 309.

Necessity's sharp *pinch.*

LEAR, ii, 4, 214.

Necessitie must first *pinch* you by the throat. — I, 291, 292.

O, step between her and her fighting soul!
Conceit in weakest bodies strongest *works.*
Speak to her, Hamlet.

HAMLET, iii, 4, 112.

It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, *working* especially *in* the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the *weakest* and seeliest, whose *conceit* and beleefe is so seized upon, that they imagine to see what they see not. — I, 93.

POL. *Beware*
Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,

In like manner, *he that enters lightly into a quarrel,* is subject to leave it as

Bear 't that the opposed may beware of thee.

HAMLET, i, 3, 65.

lightly. The same difficulty which keepes me from embracing the same, *should encite me, being* once mooved and *the rein engaged, to continue resolute.* — III, 275.

HAM. God's bodykins, man, better! *Use every man after his desert, and who should scape whipping?*

HAMLET, ii, 2, 554.

No man is so exquisitely honest or upright in living, but brings all his actions and thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes; and *that ten times in his life might not lawfully be hanged.*[1]

. . . . . .

And some might never offend the lawes, that not withstanding should not *deserve* the commendations of vertuous men: *and whom philosophy might meritoriously* and justly *cause to be whipped.* — III, 242.

Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of *thinking too precisely on the event*, —
A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part *wisdom*
And ever *three parts coward*, — I do not know
Why yet I live to say, "This thing's to do."

HAMLET, iv, 4, 40.

A *wisedome* so *tenderly precise*, and so *precisely* circumspect, *is a mortall enemie to haughty executions.* — I, 129.

GUIL. Which dreams indeed are *ambition*, for the very substance of the ambitious is merely *the shadow of a dream.*
HAM. A *dream* itself is but a *shadow.*
ROS. Truly, and I hold *ambition* of so airy and light a quality that it is but *a shadow's shadow.*
HAM. Then are our beggars *bodies*, and our monarchs and *outstretch'd heroes the beggars' shadows.*

HAMLET, ii, 2, 263.

He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene *shadow* and *glory*, did better than he thought of. *They are* exceeding *vaine things. It* also often goeth before her *body*, and sometimes *exceeds* by much *in length.*

II, 352.

The very substance of the *ambitious is* merely *the shadow of a dream.*

HAMLET, ii, 2, 265.

Fame . . . is a dream, dreames shadow.

I, 296.

1. Cited by Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 1909 edition, pp. 109 ff.

Then you live about her waist, or in *the middle of her* [Fortune's] *favour?*
HAMLET, ii, 2, 237.

Drawne from the *midle heape of fortunes doting.* — II, 359.

That monster, *custom*, who *all sense doth eat*,
Of habits devil [*evil*],[1] is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. *Refrain* tonight,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
. . . the next more easy;
For *use* almost *can change the stamp of nature.*
HAMLET, iii, 4, 161.

Some, either because they are so fast and naturally joyned unto *vice*, or *through long custome, have lost all sence of its uglinesse.* — III, 29.

The sharpnesse of their rules is presently *made smooth* and *easie by custome;* and *carnall concupiscences, rejected*, abated, and lulled asleep *by refusing them;* for nothing entertaineth them but *use.* — I, 263.

The *thousand natural shocks*
That flesh is heir to.
HAMLET, iii, 1, 61.

And question might be made, whether according to her [the mind's] *natural* condition she [the mind] might at any time be so [settled]: But to joyne constancie unto it in her last perfection: I meane if nothing should *shocke* her: which a *thousand* accidents may doe.
II, 21, 22.

How weary, stale, flat, and *unprofitable*,
Seems to me all the *uses* of this world!
Fie on 't! oh fie, fie! 'T is an *unweeded garden*,
That grows to *seed; things rank and gross* in nature
Possess it merely.
HAMLET, i, 2, 133.

As we see some *idle*-fallow *grounds*, if they be fat and fertile, to *bring foorth store and sundrie roots of wilde* and *unprofitable weeds*, and that to keepe them in *ure* we must subject and imploy them with certain *seeds* for our *use* and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring foorth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seed. So is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations. — I, 39.

1. The better reading here is "evil."

HAM. And my father *died within 's two hours.*
OPH. *Nay*, 't is *twice two months*, my lord.
HAM. So long? Nay then, let the devil wear black, for I'll have a suit of sables. O heavens! *die two months ago, and not forgotten yet?* Then there's hope *a great man's memory may outlive his life half a year:* but, by 'r lady, *he must build churches, then, or else shall he suffer not thinking on*, with the hobby-horse, whose epitaph is, "For, O, for, O, the hobby-horse is forgot."

HAMLET, iii, 2, 136.

Even of those whom we see to doe excellently well, *if they* have but once *continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them, then if they had never bin.* — II, 360.

Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, *to have a clarke present to enrole it:* And besides, it may be that *a hundred clarkes shall write them, whose commentaries shall not continue three daies*, and shall never come to anybodies sight. — II, 359, 360.

I have of late — but wherefore *I know not — lost all my mirth*, forgone all custom of exercise; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that *this goodly frame, the earth, seems* to me *a sterile promontory.*

HAMLET, ii, 2, 307.

I wot not, whether it be without reason, *I am so distasted and out of liking with the world*, wherein I live and frequent.

III, 243.

And a most instant tetter *bark'd about*,
Most lazar-like, *with* vile and *loathesome crust*,
All my smooth *body.*

HAMLET, i, 5, 71.

We are much the worse with keeping *our bodies all over-crusted*, and our pores stopped *with grease and filth.*

II, 525.

HOR. Never believe it.
I am more *an antique Roman* than a Dane;
Here's yet some liquor left.
HAM. As thou 'rt a man,
Give me the cup. Let go! By heaven, I'll have 't!
O good Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity a while
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
To tell my story.

HAMLET, v, 2, 351.

But according to his *Stoicke humour*, I suppose he perswaded himselfe to have done as much for hir, *prolonging his life for hir availe, as if he had died for hir.* . . . and sometimes, although accasions urge us to the contrary, *life must be revoked again, yea with torment.* . . . He who esteemeth not his wife or *a friend* so much, as that he *will not lengthen his life for them*, and will obstinately die, that man is over-nice and too effeminate. . . . We must sometimes *lend our selves unto our friends, and when we would die for us*, we ought for their sakes to *interrupt our deseigne.* — II, 494.

And *not a man, for being simply man,*
Hath any honour, but honour'd for those honours
That are without him, as place, riches, and *favour.*
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, iii, 3, 80.

Why do we *not* likewise *esteeme a man for that which is his owne?* He hath *a goodly traine of men* following him, *a stately pallace* to dwell in, so *great credit* amongst men, and *so much rent* comming in. Alas, *all that is about him, and not in him. . . .* A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. — I, 299, 300.

TRO. O that I thought it could be in a woman —
As, if it can, I will presume in you —
To feed for aye her lamp and flames *of love,*
To keep her constancy in plight and youth,
Outliving beauties outward, with *a mind*
That doth renew swifter than blood decays!
Or that persuasion could but thus convince me
That my integrity and truth to you
Might be affronted with the match and weight
Of such a winnow'd purity in love,
How were I then uplifted! But, alas![1]
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, iii, 2, 166.

The lover endevoring and studying *to make himselfe acceptable by the* good grace and *beauty of his minde* (that of *his body being* long since *decayed*) hoping *by* this *mentall societie to establish a* more firme and *permanent bargaine.*
I, 201.

Seeing it is the *mindes priviledge* to *renew* and recover *it selfe on olde age.*
III, 65.

It [love] *would restore* and heat, though but in a dreame, *the blood* which nature forsaketh. — III, 124.

One touch of nature *makes the whole world kin,*
That all, with one consent, *praise new-born gawdes.*
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, iii, 3, 175.

Amongst humane conditions, this *one is verie common, that we are* rather *pleased with strange things* than with our owne: *we love changes,* affect alterations and like innovations.
III, 187.

Divert and crack, *rend* and deracinate
The unity and married *calm of states*
Quite from their fixture! O, *when degree is shak'd,*
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
Then enterprise is sick! How could communities,

But to undertake to re-erect and found againe so huge a masse, and change or remove the foundations of so vast a frame, belongeth only to them, who instead of purging, deface; and in liew of cleansing, scrape out: that will amend particular faults by

1. J. Churton Collins finds in this passage a reminiscence of Plato, *First Alcibiades;* see *Studies in Shakespeare,* p. 34. It is more probable that the Greek passage is the source of Montaigne, and the Montaigne passage the source of Shakspere.

Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,
Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree, stand in authentic place?
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, *hark, what discord follows!* Each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores
And make a sop of all this solid globe.
Strength should be lord of imbecility,[1]
And the rude son should strike his father dead.
Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
Between whose endless jar justice resides,
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And *appetite, an universal wolf,*
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And last eat up himself.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, i, 3, 99.

an universall confusion, and *cure diseases by death.* — III, 200.

All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and *shake a state* very much. — III, 201.

Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his owne judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free will: otherwise, according to the *imbecilitie* of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might peradventure forget and devise such duties unto ourselves as would induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endevour *to destroy and devoure one another. The first law* that ever God gave unto man, *was a law of pure obedience.* — II, 189.

Epicurus said of the *lawes,* that the worst were so necessary unto us, that *without them men would enter-devoure one another.* And Plato verifieth, that without lawes *we should live like beasts.* — II, 276.

TRO. *What is aught, but as 't is valu'd?*
HECT. But *value dwells not in particular will;*
It *holds his estimate* and dignity
As well wherein 't is precious of itself
As in the prizer.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, ii, 2, 52.

No man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but *every man* in his turne *receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation* and succession *allotteth them.* — II, 277, 278.

1. This is the one instance of the word *imbecility* in Shakspere.

ULYS. They tax our policy, and call it
cowardice.
Count wisdom as no member of the war,
Forestall prescience, and *esteem no act*
But that of hand. The still and mental
parts,
That do contrive how many hands
shall strike
When fitness calls them on, and know
by measure
Of their observant toil the enemies'
weight, —
Why, this *hath not a finger's dignity.*
They call this bed-work, mappery,
closet-war;
So that *the ram that batters down the wall,*
For the great swing and rudeness of
his poise.
They place before his hand that made the
engine,
Or those that with the fineness of their
souls
By reason *guide his execution.*
NEST. Let this be granted, and
Achilles' horse
Makes many Thetis' sons.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, i, 3, 197.

Our monuments
Shall be *the maws of kites.*
MACBETH, iii, 4, 73.

FIRST MUR. We are men, my liege.
MACB. Ay, in the catalogue ye go for
men,
As hounds and *greyhounds, mongrels,*
spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs, and *demi-wolves,*
are clept
All by the name of dogs; the valued
file
Distinguishes *the swift, the slow, the*
subtle,
The housekeeper, the hunter, every one

It is most certaine that the recompence of our order *did not in former times only concerne prowis, and respect valour;* it had a further aime. It *was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier, but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire:* for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive, that for the worthy obtaining thereof, there was required more universall warre-like expertnesse and *which might imbrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military man: Neque enim eaedem militares et imperatoriae artes sunt;* "For *the same* arts and *parts belong not to a generall and common Souldier*"; and who besides that, should also bee of a fit and accomodable condition for such a *dignitie.* — II, 64.

Where the most desired *sepulcher that some wish for, is to bee devoured* of dogges, and in some places *of birds.*
I, 109.

In such manner that *as* fruits and *beasts* doe spring up diverse and *different; So men are borne,* either more or less *warlike, martiall, just, temperate* and *docile:* here *subject to wine, there to theft, and whoredome;* here *inclined to superstition, addicted to misbelieving;* here *given to liberty;* there to servitude; capable of some one art or science; *grosse-witted or ingenious:* either *obedient or rebellious; good or bad.*
II, 297, 298.

According to the gift which bounteous nature
Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does receive
Particular addition, from the bill
That writes them all alike; *and so of men.*
MACBETH, iii, 1, 91.

I am in blood
Stepp'd in *so far* that, should *I wade* no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.
MACBETH, iii, 4, 137.

Resolveth *not to drawe backe, but finish what he had so* well begunne, and was *so farre waded into.* — II, 338.

MACB. *Had I but died an hour before this chance,*
I had liv'd a blessed time; for, from this instant,
There's nothing serious in mortality.
All is but toys; renown and grace is dead;
The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
Is left this vault to brag of.
MACBETH, ii, 3, 96.

I have lived longer by this one day, than I should. — I, 69.

But is *much fallen from my first vigor and* naturall *jollity,* inclining to a kinde of drooping or mouldinesse *I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which* beginneth to *tast of* dregs and *lees.* — II, 136.

I have liv'd long enough. My way of *life*
Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf.
MACBETH, v, 3, 22.

Come, sir, dispatch. If thou couldst, *doctor, cast*
The water of my land, find her disease,
And *purge it to a* sound and pristine *health,*
I would applaud thee to the very echo,
That should applaud again. — Pull 't off, I say. —
What rhubarb, senna, or what *purgative drug,*
Would scour these English hence?
MACBETH, v, 3, 50.

Of such like repletion are *states often* seene to be *sicke, and divers purgations* are wont to be *used to purge them.*
II, 418.

Ere we will eat our meal in fear, and sleep

He had *rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie,* and to guard him-

In the affliction of these terrible dreams
That shake us nightly. *Better be with the dead*
Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
Than on the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstasy. Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.
MACBETH, iii, 2, 17.

selfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends. — I, 128, 129.

For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were *better to embrace it than remaine still in the continuall fit of such a fever* that hath no remedie.
I, 133.

Yet know not what *we* fear,
But *float upon a* wild and *violent sea*
Each way and move.
MACBETH, iv, 2, 20.

"*So are we* drawne, as wood is shoved, By others sinnewes *each way moved.*" We goe not, but we are carried: *as things that flote, now gliding gently, now hulling violently;* according as the water is, either stormy or calme.
II, 9.

Where dust and damn'd *oblivion is the tomb*
Of honour'd bones indeed.
ALL'S WELL, ii, 3, 147.

The memory not onely *of the Generals and Leaders*, but also of the battels and victories *lieth* now *low-buried in oblivion.* — II, 359.

Men
Whose *heads* stood *in their breasts?*
TEMPEST, iii, 3, 47.

Where *men* are borne *headless*, with eyes and mouthes *in their breasts.*
II, 235.

FER. *Admir'd* Miranda!
Indeed the top of admiration! worth
What's dearest to the world! Full *many a lady*
I have ey'd with best regard, and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear; *for several virtues*
Have I lik'd several women, never any
With so full soul, *but some defect in her*
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd
And put it to the foil; *but you, O you,*

I know divers men who have sundry noble and worthy parts; some *wit*, some *courage*, some *dexteritie*, some *conscience*, some a *readiness in speech*, some one science, and some another; *but of a great* man in generall, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or *but one*, in such a degree of excellencie, as hee may thereby be *admired*, . . . my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And *the greatest I ever knew* living . . . *was Stephanus de la Boitie:* Verily *it was a compleat minde.* — II, 395.

Common friendships may bee divided; *a man may love beauty in one, facility*

So perfect and so peerless, are *created*
Of every creature's best!
TEMPEST, iii, 1, 37.

of behaviour in another, liberality in one, and wisdome in another, paternity in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: *but this amitie.* — I, 206.

Squar'st thy life according.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE, v, 1, 487.

Square his life unto it. — II, 132.

But doth *rebate and blunt his natural edge*
With profits of the mind.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE, i, 4, 60.

Be it supposed that *Learning and Knowledge* should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to *blunt and abate the sharpnesse* of those accidents or mischances, that follow and attend us. — II, 192.

Because *authority*, though it err like others,
Hath yet *a kind of medicine in itself,*
That skins the vice o' the top.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE, ii, 2, 134.

As we yeeld *Princes* all advantages of honor so *we aucthorize their defects and sooth-up their vices.* — III, 156.

ANG. *When I would pray* and think, I think and pray
To several subjects. *Heaven hath my empty words,*
Whilst my invention, hearing not my tongue,
Anchors on Isabel; Heaven in my mouth,
As if I did but only chew his name,
And in my heart the strong and swelling *evil*
Of my conception.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE, ii, 4, 1.

A true and hartie *praier,* and an unfained religious reconciliation from us unto God, *cannot* likely *fall into a wicked* and impure *soule,* especially *when Sathan swaith the same.* He that calleth upon God for his assistance, *whilst* he is *engulphed and wallowing in filthy sinne,* doth as the cut-purse, that should call for justice unto his ayd, or those that *produce God in witnesse of a lie.* — I, 374.

My fault is past. But, O, *what form of prayer*
Can serve my turn? *"Forgive me my foul murder"?*
That cannot be; since *I am still possess'd*
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
May one be pardon'd and retain the offence?
HAMLET, iii, 3, 51.

POST. Be cur'd
By the sure physician, *Death*, who *is the key*
To unbar these locks.
CYMBELINE, v, 4, 7.

SICI. His ascension is
More sweet than our blest *fields* [Elysian].
CYMBELINE, v, 4, 116.

You must either be directed by *some that take upon them to know* [where you are going after you die], or to *take upon yourself that which* I am sure *you do not know*, . . . and how you shall speed in your journey's end, I think you'll never return to tell one.
CYMBELINE, v, 4, 185.

CYM. She hath not yet forgot him. Some more *time*
Must wear the print of *his remembrance on't* [some texts read *out*],
And then she's yours.
CYMBELINE, ii, 3, 47.

POET. *A thing* [poem] *slipp'd idly from me.*
Our poesy is as a gum, which oozes
From whence 't is nourish'd.
TIMON OF ATHENS, i, 1, 20.

A most incomparable *man, breath'd*, as it were,
To an untirable and continuate *goodness.*
TIMON OF ATHENS, i, 1, 10.

He's truly valiant that can wisely suffer
The worst that man can breathe, and *make his wrongs*
His outsides, to wear them like his raiment, carelessly,
And ne'er prefer his injuries to his heart,
To bring it into danger.
TIMON OF ATHENS, iii, 5, 31.

And that the favourablest gift, *nature* hath bequeathed us, and which removeth all meanes from us to complaine of our condition, is, that she *hath left us the key of the fields*. She hath appointed but one entrance unto life, but many a thousand wayes out of it: Well may *we want* ground to live upon, but *never ground to die in.*
II, 25, 26.

These *people who* . . . yet will *take upon them* . . . *to know all:*
"What cause doth calme the sea, what clears the year,
Whether Stars forc't or of selfe-will appear:
What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or wane." — II, 251.

A thing very pleasant to read, when *time began to weare out the remembrance* of them. — I, 241.

"This fellow sure with much a doe,
Will tell great *tales* and trifles too."
That concerneth not me; *mine slip from me with* as *little care*, . . . they speed the better. — III, 1.

Those *men* of former ages, *who* to *keep their vertue in breath* and exercise.
III, 362.

But he called him backe, and shewing him *his feet and brest*, said unto him, There is *nothing come from thence hither*. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for he feeleth himselfe *grieved with sicknesse*, and would faine be rid of it, *yet is not his heart vanquished* or weakned thereby. — II, 192.

IAGO. Virtue! a fig! 't is in ourselves that we are thus or thus. *Our bodies are our gardens*, to the which our wills are gardeners; so that *if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce*, set hyssop, and *weed up thyme, supply it with one gender of herbs, or distract it with many*, either to *have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry*, why, *the power* and corrigible authority *of this lies in our wills.*

OTHELLO, i, 3, 322.

As we see some *idle*-fallow *grounds*, if they be fat and fertile, to *bring foorth* store and *sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds*, and that to keepe them in ure we must subject and *imploy them with certain seeds for our use and service.* And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring foorth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, *they must be manured with* another kinde of *seed: So is it of mindes*, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations. — I, 39.

And *prostitute me to the basest groom.*

PERICLES, iv, 6, 201.

He might *prostitute his beauty* as the body of a common hedge-harlot, *to* Mulitteers, *Groomes.* — II, 16.

A man whom both *the waters and the wind,*
In that vast tennis-court, hath made the ball
For them *to play upon.*

PERICLES, ii, 1, 63.

The Gods play at hand-ball with us, and tosse us up and downe on All hands . . . '*The gods* perdie doe reckon and *racket us men as their tennis-balles.*'

III, 203.

Let's do it [die] *after the high Roman fashion.*

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, iv, 15, 87.

A valiant man; *after the usuall Roman fashion.* — II, 65.

Thou didst *drink*
The stale of horses.[1]

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, i, 4, 61.

To *drinke the stale* or urine *of* their *horses.* — I, 338.

Outstare the lightning.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, iii, 13, 195.

Out-stare the tempest. — II, 192.

'T is not my profit that does lead mine honour;
Mine honour, it.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, ii, 7, 82.

And profit is nothing so much to be esteemed or loved as honesty. — II, 68.

Falsly doe wee argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by it's profit.

III, 21.

1. "*To drink puddle water*," in North's Plutarch; see *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. by Skeat, pp. 167 ff.

The sides of nature
Will not sustain it.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, i, 3, 17.

These sides cannot still sustaine.
III, 369.

And *it is great* [to kill oneself]
To do that thing that ends all other deeds;
Which *shackles accidents and bolts up change;*
Which sleeps, and never palates more the dung,
The beggar's nurse and Caesar's.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, v, 2, 4.

Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken *thee: I have mured and ramd up all thy passages*, whereby thou mightest attaine unto mee. — II, 23.

The miserable change now at my end
Lament nor sorrow at; but *please your thoughts*
In feeding them with those my former fortunes
Wherein I liv'd, the greatest prince o' the world,
The noblest.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, iv, 15, 51.

To shelter us against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth she else, when she perswades us to *withdraw our thought from the evils that possesse us, and entertaine them with fore-gon pleasures*, and stead us as a comfort of present evils *with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help*, for to oppose it against that which vexeth us? — II, 196.

O then *we bring forth weeds*
When our quick *minds lie still.*[1]
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, i, 2, 113.

As we see some idle-fallow *grounds*, if they be fat and fertile, to *bring foorth* store and sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable *weeds*, and that to keep them in ure we must subject and imploy them with certain seeds for our use and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring foorth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seed: *So is it of mindes*, which *except they be busied* about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.
I, 39.

But the changes I perceived in the King and Camillo were very notes of

Thereby to expresse this mournfull *silent stupiditie*, which so doth pierce

1. Suggestion of G. L. Kittredge.

admiration. They seem'd almost, with *staring on one another*, to tear the cases of their eyes. *There was speech in their dumbness*, language in their very gesture; *they look'd as they had heard of a world ransom'd, or one destroyed.* A notable passion of wonder appeared in them; but the wisest beholder, that knew no more but seeing, *could not say if* the importance were *joy or sorrow;* but *in the extremity of the one, it must needs be.*

WINTER'S TALE, v, 2, 11.

Thus *hulling in*
The wild *sea of* my *conscience.*
HENRY VIII, ii, 4, 199.

It is held
That *valour is the chiefest virtue*, and
Most dignifies the haver.
CORIOLANUS, ii, 2, 88.

Nay, mother,
Where is your ancient courage? *You were us'd*
To say extremity was the trier of spirits;
That common chances common men could bear;
That when the sea was calm all boats alike
Show'd mastership in floating; fortune's blows,
When most struck home, being gentle, wounded, craves
A noble cunning.
CORIOLANUS, iv, 1, 2.

us, *when accidents* surpassing our strength *orewhelme us.* Verily *the violence of a griefe, being extreme, must needs astonie the mind*, and hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarum of some *bad tidings*, when we shall *feele our selves* surprised, *benummed*, and as it were *deprived of* all *motion*, so that the soule bursting.
I, 19.

The *surprize of* an unexpected *pleasure astonieth us alike.* — I, 20.

Painters are of opinion, that the *motions* and wrinkles *in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh.* Verely, before one or other be determined to express which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one inclineth. And *the extreamity of laughing entermingles itselfe with teares.* — II, 410.

If our *intellectuall and sensible faculties . . . hull up and downe* and drive with the wind. — II, 280.

This is worthy to be considered, that *our nation giveth the chiefe prehemiinence of all vertue unto* valiancie, as the Etymology of the word sheweth, which cometh of *valour.* — II, 65.

No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively *vertue:* She *seeketh out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment.* — II, 27, 28.

And *refusing ease and health*, with a hearty cheerefullnesse *defie all evils*, and scornefully *despising lesse sharpe griefs*, disdayning to grapple with them, *he blithely desireth* and calleth for *sharper, more forcible, and worthy of him.* — II, 24.

It was not enough to have our *resolutions* and discourse *beyond all the af-*

> *fronts and checks* of *fortune;* but that, moreover, it was verie requisite *to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the traill* of *it!* They will diligently quest and *seek out for paine,* smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that *so they may combat them, and keep their minde* [*virtue*] *in breath.*—II, 110.

These then are the passages in which it is possible to detect the most convincing evidences of an immediate relation between Shakspere and Montaigne. From their correspondency, to borrow a phrase from both Shakspere and Montaigne, "toss and turn" as we may, there is no escape. They point clearly to the conclusion that in almost every instance Shakspere, before arriving at his destination, had made a détour through the forest of Montaigne. They justify the inference that he had read the Florio practically from cover to cover. In not a single play written by Shakspere between 1603 and his death does the influence of Montaigne fail to make itself felt.

The second group of passages [1] which this paper has sought to bring together, though not so convincing as the first, is suggestive of a relationship of some sort between Shakspere and Montaigne. If these were all, the discussion might forever chase its tail. One is tempted to say of each of them in turn, "That reminds one of this or that in Shakspere," and there an end! Perhaps it is these and other like passages that Raleigh [2] had in mind when he remarked: "The similarity seems to spring from the natural kinship of questioning minds." Their number is too great, however, to allow them to be brushed lightly aside. Coming as "single spies," they might have meant one thing; "in battalions" they may mean another; and as they continue to "crowde one in the necke of another," more and more they deepen the conviction that Shakspere had many of them in mind, half consciously, when he composed passages like them.

1. See Appendices, pp. 51 ff. 2. *Shakespeare*, p. 76.

To ask that every passage in Shakspere which was influenced by some other passage in another author should bear with unmistakable clearness the imprint of the original, is to demand too much even of Shakspere. He had, no doubt, a mind capable of absorbing the innumerable details of literature and life to the point of miraculousness; he had, no doubt, a "memory which seems to have held everything, from a stray epithet in classical mythology to the look of the sham Hercules in some worm-eaten tapestry that once met his eye."[1] But, notwithstanding his "capacity receiveth as the sea," when one considers also the vast region of thought and feeling which his mind traversed, and with what a swiftness of meditation he traversed it, one can with difficulty escape the conclusion that it was only natural that many of these passages should have left upon his works an impression somewhat dim. Dim or clear, their great number counts for much in a field of discussion in which the proof is in part cumulative. Each detail of similarity strengthens every other detail. Taken in their entirety, they serve the purpose of further indicating Shakspere's intimate acquaintance with the Florio. The tendency of these passages, compiled impartially and with no discrimination as to plays, to appear far more frequently in the plays written in and just after 1603, and far less frequently in the plays further removed from that date, like the group of words and phrases now to be considered, throws additional light upon the exact nature of the reaction of Shakspere to Montaigne which this paper will go into more fully in its conclusion. The number of Montaigne passages in each play of Shakspere is set forth in the following table:[2]

1. Manly, *Shakespeare Himself*, p. 9.

2. This table takes into consideration the thirty-one passages listed by Hooker and Upham, referred to *supra*, pp. 3, 4.

I. Hamlet	51	IX. Pericles	5
II. Lear	23	X. All's Well	4
III. Troilus and Cressida	16	XI. Timon of Athens	4
IV. Macbeth	11	XII. Othello	4
V. Measure for Measure	10	XIII. Cymbeline	3
VI. Tempest	8	XIV. Coriolanus	3
VII. Antony and Cleopatra	7	XV. Henry VIII	1
VIII. Winter's Tale	5		

Of Shakspere and "words, words, words," Professor Kittredge has remarked:[1] "Shakspere loved words: that is axiomatic, for he accumulated, somehow, the most enormous vocabulary ever used by mortal man. Further, he loved words for their sound, and not for their sense alone. Otherwise he could not have been a poet, unless it were in a singularly qualified application. And here we have him — the real Shakspere — luxuriating in pure prodigality of vocal reverberation — borrowing Gargantua's mouth, anglicizing honorificabilitudinitatibus." Montaigne also "borrowed Gargantua's mouth." The task of forcing the essays over into English compelled Florio to draw upon every available source of word-supply in our language, and, when that supply was exhausted, to press into service foreign emissaries, words new and never spoken before in England. No one who will take the pains to read carefully two or three times through the Florio will doubt the vastness of the vocabulary. Let one cast about in one's mind for a source of available word-supply which could, about 1603, afford Shakspere an opportunity for sudden expansion in vocabulary, and one will come at the last to the Florio Montaigne.

Let no one suppose for an instant that the present paper assumes that Shakspere got direct from Montaigne all the words and phrases which go to make up the glossary compiled from the Florio and listed in the Appendices.[2] The mere fact that Shakspere did not employ them before 1603 does not of itself warrant this assump-

1. Kittredge, *Shakspere*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1921), pp. 49, 50.
2. See Appendices, pp. 49 ff.

tion. Some of them he may have got from any one of the many pieces of literature he had become acquainted with up to 1603 and after. Some of them he may have picked up from the talk of his acquaintances. Nevertheless, the sudden expansion of the vocabulary of one already seised and possessed of an enormous estate in words, with such a work as Montaigne close at hand to help to explain it, has to be reckoned with, especially in view of the cumulative nature of the proof in a discussion of this kind.

Certain facts may be worth mentioning in connection with these words and phrases. First, many of them are exceeding rare. Take, for instance, the word "marble-hearted." One would be inclined to wager that here certainly is the very coinage of Shakspere's brain; and such one would infer to be the case from the statements concerning the word in the most authoritative English dictionaries.[1] It had, however, already appeared once in 1603 in the Florio Montaigne.[2] Shakspere, with such an eye for words as he had, probably did not fail to notice it in passing. Second, many of these words had not been used in a figurative sense by Shakspere until after they had been used in a figurative sense in the Florio Montaigne. Third, many of them are not listed in the Oxford Dictionary as entering the English language at all so early as 1603.[3] Fourth, some of them, when employed by Shakspere in 1603 or after, are employed very frequently by him once he has hit upon them. Fifth, many of these words, though used by writers other than either Shakspere or Florio before 1603, are used by Florio so very often as to give one the feeling that they are practically characteristic of his style, pet words or phrases of his, whereas they were not so in the author using them previous to Florio or Shakspere. Sixth, many of these words, though cited by the Oxford Dictionary in works antedating either Shakspere or the Florio Montaigne, are to be found only in works too early

1. See the Oxford and Century Dictionaries.
2. *The Essays* of Montaigne, Tudor Translation, ii, 123.
3. See Appendices, words italicized.

to have been read by Shakspere at all (writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), or in works essentially unliterary, technical or scholastic, or in scriptural articles which one feels fairly sure Shakspere could never have had occasion to read. Seventh, when the Oxford Dictionary lists the word as entering the English language previous to 1603, unless it is made to appear that it was used in some of the writings that Shakspere is pretty well known to have read, the chances are in favor of his having got it from the Florio Montaigne, a work he is known to have read. For example, the phrase "discourse of reason," which Mr. Robertson[1] thinks Shakspere got from Montaigne, is to be found as often in Plutarch's *Moralia*[2] as in Montaigne; but until Shakspere is shown to have been familiar with the *Moralia*, or with some other work in which the phrase occurs, the chances are in favor of his having got the phrase from Montaigne,[3] a work he is known to have read. Eighth, and of exceptional importance, the percentage of Montaigne words to the page in the plays of Shakspere bears out with startling precision the result arrived at from the other two sets of facts already discussed — that is, that Montaigne made more impression on Shakspere's style and thought immediately after his first reading of the Florio. That what one would naturally suppose to be true should in fact prove to be true, strengthens the case immensely. This table of percentages of Montaigne words to the page in each play is important enough for insertion here:

1. Robertson, *Shakespeare and Montaigne*, pp. 19 f.; C. M. Gayley (*Shakspeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, pp. 249 ff.) thinks the expression was borrowed by Shakspere rather from Hooker than from Montaigne.

2. Plutarch's *Moralia*, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1911.

3. On the contrary, the word "launch," though never used by Shakspere before it appears in the Florio, was certainly not taken by Shakspere from Montaigne, but from Marlowe's "was this the face that launched a thousand ships?"

	No. of words[1] to the page	No. of words[2] in the play
I. Hamlet	3.4	125
II. Lear	3.4	116
III. Tempest	3.4	72
IV. Troilus and Cressida	3.2	105
V. Macbeth	2.9	70
VI. All's Well	2.8	80
VII. Antony and Cleopatra	2.8	98
VIII. Winter's Tale	2.8	79
IX. Timon of Athens	2.8	68
X. Measure for Measure	2.7	67
XI. Coriolanus	2.3	94
XII. Cymbeline	2.3	83
XIII. Othello	2.2	71
XIV. Pericles	1.8	45
XV. Henry VIII	1.6	52

From the two sets of facts now before us, the table of percentages of passages and the table of percentages of words and phrases, it is possible to reach one broad generalization: the influence of Montaigne on Shakspere was strongest during those years immediately following the publication of the Florio. There are, however, two notable exceptions, *The Tempest* and *Othello*. In *The Tempest*, written long after 1603, Montaigne's influence is almost as nearly at its height as in *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Troilus and Cressida;* in *Othello*, written in 1604, when one would naturally expect to find Montaigne's influence at its height, it is scarcely discernible. The strong influence in *The Tempest* is inexplicable, except on the theory that Shakspere returned for a brief interval to his reading of Montaigne. The scant influence on *Othello* is more easily accounted for by the nature of this particular play, in which Shakspere seldom introduces matter not germane to the plot or situation. Now, taking it by and large, the Montaigne influence is to be detected most fre-

1. Shakespeare's *Complete Works*, ed. by Neilson, Cambridge, 1906.

2. Since making this tabulation, I have added some eight or ten words to the glossary in the Appendix. They will not, however, change appreciably the general average indicated.

quently in the discursive, digressive portions of the speeches in Shakspere. The perfection of the plot-structure of *Othello* is a matter of common knowledge; it speeds forward "as level as the cannon to his blank," affording little opportunity for leisurely comment on the nature of man or of life in general.

All the evidence in the case points toward the conclusion that Shakspere was most profoundly and extensively affected by the Florio Montaigne in every way immediately after he had first had the opportunity to become familiar with the work in its entirety, and that, as time passed, the Montaigne influence became less and less apparent, although Shakspere bore Montaigne's marks upon him to the grave. In what respects did Montaigne affect him? Practically in every respect in which a dramatist would naturally be affected by an essayist.

It may seem singular that Shakspere, less addicted to self-revelation than any other author, should react strongly to perhaps the most frankly communicative of writers. Given, however, the little that is known of Shakspere himself and the much of his literary make-up that may be got by implication [1] from his works, and given the Montaigne whom we know with certainty — and a reaction of considerable force was almost inevitable. On the one hand, there is Shakspere the reader, susceptible to every sort of literary impression. Probably no man ever took more sheer delight in the artistic expression of others. Those who know and like him best do not attempt to maintain that his originality was of such a sort as to preclude an enormous capacity to absorb everything accessible in the way of literary material. On the contrary, we know that he gathered freely as he read — words, phrases, passages, and every other unit of expression, transmuting them certainly, but just as certainly appropriating them. And so it is that for generations scholars have been talking of the influence of Marlowe, of Kyd, of Lodge, of Lyly,

1. Manly, *Shakespeare Himself*, pp. 2 ff.

of Holinshed, of Plutarch, both as to substance and as to literary expression.

Such, then, is the nature of the *reader*, Shakspere, with whom one has to deal in the case. On the other hand, what have we to reckon with in Montaigne, the *author read?* One more likely to set up reactions could hardly be manufactured for the purpose. In Florio's translation of his *Essays* English men of letters on all sides were revelling. In it they were finding available for literary purposes material fresh and strange. By Montaigne, Bacon had been affected on an extensive scale; by him Jonson, and by him, Jonson says, "all our English writers." [1] By him Milton was to be affected in both poetry and prose; and countless others down to our own time, culminating in Stevenson, avowedly a humble disciple. To read Montaigne was to react, and the writer of all English writers most responsive to the virtues of style reacted. Imagine a writer, constituted like Shakspere, coming head-on in the year of our Lord 1603 upon a book like the Florio Montaigne and failing to react! Never before (nor was he ever afterwards to do so) had Shakspere run across a work more intensely personal or human, more varied or more contagious in style, nicer in its distinction of exact shades of meaning, or more luxuriantly copious in the use of words. Here was one who had, like Shakspere himself, that preternatural faculty of throwing words together, even in prose, in new and unforgettable combinations; who, like Shakspere, was satisfied to take nothing less than the world for his oyster, or (as Montaigne) puts it, the universe for his theatre; in whom, as in Shakspere, "the still and mental parts" were developed to perfection. And all this Shakspere met at a comparatively early age in one whose name already "ran in men's mouths." Strange indeed would it have been had Shakspere not been influenced strongly by Montaigne, and little would it have been to Shakspere's credit had he not been so influenced.

1. *Volpone*, act iii, sc. 2.

Let it not be supposed, however, that I have any wish to maintain that Shakspere was a follower or disciple of Montaigne. Shakspere at thirty-nine years of age as the disciple in thought of anyone is unthinkable — "As if Olympus should in supplication nod." Happily, Montaigne himself, anticipating the charge that he was a disciple of the authors he read, has answered the accusation in language exactly applicable to the case in hand: "What if I lend my ears somewhat more attentively unto books, sith I but watch if I can filch something from them, wherewith to enammell and uphold mine? I never studie to make a booke, Yet have I somewhat studied, because I had already made it, (if to nibble or pinch, by the head or feet, now one Author, and then another be in any sort to study) *but nothing at all to forme my opinions:* Yea being long since formed, to assist, to second and to serve them." [1] How idle, in any event, to attempt to discover whether Shakspere's system of thought or his philosophy of life was taken from Montaigne! If three centuries of criticism have failed to ascertain with any certainty what Shakspere's own philosophy of life was, how is it possible to determine whether he thought "after" Montaigne or not? Especially is this the case with reference to a thinker like Montaigne. For, despite opinions to the contrary, it is very difficult to determine what he personally felt about this matter or that. Take for instance the one passage which all Shakspereans are willing to admit was borrowed in *The Tempest*, the so-called description of an ideal commonwealth. Scarcely a commentator has been able to resist the temptation to have his fling at Montaigne in connection with it, interpreting it to be his actual ideal of government [2] and not Shakspere's, and this in the face of the fact that he has, with far more certainty than Shakspere, placed himself on exactly the oppo-

1. Florio's translation (Tudor Translation), ii, 401.

2. See Walter Raleigh, *Shakespeare*, p. 76; Hooker, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xvii, 346.

site side of the question. He stands for the established order of the world as stoutly as Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*.[1] His language is clear, and the views expressed are given as the personal opinion of Montaigne, not of a dramatic character. It is Montaigne himself, not Shakspere himself, who suggests that he is amusing himself with discussions about imaginary forms of government:

"These great and longcontinuing altercations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious rules to unite us together, are *altercations onley proper for the exercise of our wit:* As in arts, divers subjects are found, that have no essence but in agitation and disputing, without which they have no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of government, were to be established in a new world; but we take a world already made and formed to certaine customes: wee engender not the same as Pyrrha, nor beget it as Cadmus. By what meanes soever we have the privilege to re-erect and range the same anew, wee can very hardly wrest it from the accustomed habit and fold it hath taken, except we breake all."
(III, 199.)

"Our Common-wealth is much crazed, and out of tune. Yet have divers others beene more dangerously sicke, and have not died." (III, 203.)

"So long as the image of the received, allowed and ancient lawes of this Monarchie shall be extant and shine in any corner thereof; there will I be; there will I abide."[2] (III, 247.)

Shakspere and Montaigne both lived in an age when it was not uncommon for a man to pay with his head for unpacking his heart, especially about affairs of government; and knowing this, when they

1. Act i, 3, 99 ff.; cited *supra*, pp. 17, 18.

2. See especially parallels, *supra*, pp. 17, 18, for Montaigne's conservative views on forms of government.

wrote of such matters, they often passed the stylus from the right hand to the left and so disguised their identity. Attacks against the established order of the world in Shakspere's plays are generally put into the mouths of eccentrics, fools, and madmen. "Why then my taxing like a wild goose flies, unclaim'd of any man," says Jaques.[1] "I speake truth not my belly-ful, but as much as I dare," says Montaigne.[2]

All attempts to differentiate sharply the thought of Montaigne from that of Shakspere might possibly meet with the same fate as this attempt to differentiate their views as to forms of government. On this and many another question they very possibly thought the same thing, without Shakspere's being influenced by Montaigne in the slightest. But they did not *feel* the same way about it. The fundamental difference between Shakspere and Montaigne lies not in their thought but in the nature of their reactions to thought. One may at least imagine Shakspere in the presence of certain repulsive or unwelcome thoughts crying out for "an ounce of civet to sweeten his imagination," but not Montaigne.

That Shakspere did not borrow his system of thought or his philosophy of life from Montaigne one may rest assured. But to be a disciple of an author and to react to his writings are very different matters. And to adopt an author's philosophy of life or his system of thought and to make use of certain isolated ideas and of certain phases of his conception of the natural world and of man, for artistic purposes, are, again, two horses of very different color. One may disagree fundamentally with an author and yet be strongly affected by him. It would be folly to suppose that Shakspere became a disciple of the many writers who undeniably influenced him. He lit his torch at any candle. He certainly borrowed many small units of thought from Montaigne. Larger units also, phases of large conceptions, he very possibly got from Montaigne. It is difficult to

1. *As You Like It*, ii, 7, 86. 2. Montaigne, iii, 22.

come away from a close reading of Montaigne without carrying with one the fancy that in no play before 1603 does Shakspere have exactly the same conception of the world of nature as after that date. In *Lear*, and in other plays after 1603, the impression one gets of the forces of nature at play around us and outside us is vaster, more terrible, than before. It is rather remarkable that during and after 1603 some five or six times nature and art are definitely compared and contrasted in the plays, and always to the disadvantage of art. "Nature's above art in that respect," cries Lear; above art also in the other references to the matter. This is one of Montaigne's favorite theses: "There is no reason art should gaine the point of honor of our great mother Nature." [1] And human nature likewise is approached from a slightly different point of the compass about 1603 and thereafter. It is then (is it not?) that those vast generalizings about "man" begin, philosophizings about human nature; "Man, proud man, like an angry ape"; "Man delights not me: no, nor woman neither"; "The strain of man's bred out into baboon and monkey." Ruminations of this sort are characteristic of Montaigne and occur scores of times in the *Essays*.

Whether or not the general thought or spirit of certain of Shakspere's later plays was affected by Montaigne is a decidedly ticklish question. For the entire field of discussion is treacherous and the ground of approach burning. Who enters here must leave all fear behind and be prepared to go it in the spirit of one who "rides on a bay trotting horse over four-inched bridges." Yet, critics, sooner or later, are drawn as by a magnet to consider what Shakspere actually thought, or, avoiding that, to consider the general thought or mood underlying this or that particular play. It is with full consciousness, therefore, of the conjectural nature of such discussions that I approach this phase of the subject, and with no very comfort-

1. In one instance only before 1603 does the idea occur in Shakspere: "natural graces that extinguish art"; *Henry VI*, v, 3, 92. But Lyly has the thought in *Campaspe*.

able feeling of security, that I find myself drifting into those waters in which one is so apt to hold "for some false impossible shore."

Curiously enough, about the time when Florio's version of the *Essays* was published (1603), a change seems to have come over the spirit of Shakspere's plays. What brought this about, no one can ever know with certainty. Critics, however, have repeatedly commented upon the change. *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well*, *Troilus and Cressida*, — all written at just about the time when one would naturally expect Montaigne's influence in thought, if ever, to set in, — do to a remarkable degree show a definite departure in thought and general spirit from the thought and spirit of the preceding plays. The idea of man's imbecility, touched upon and elaborated by Montaigne so often as to be noted as an element in his mental idiosyncrasy, is dwelt upon in *Measure for Measure* with an emphasis not found before. The matter of sex, to which Montaigne incessantly recurs with unflagging interest, takes a decidedly different turn in *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *All's Well*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear* from the course it had previously pursued; certainly in these plays one's attention is more often directed to the "snuff and loathed part of nature" than in the plays preceding. The brilliant Frenchman, who was, like Chaucer,[1] one of the most normal and healthy-minded of human beings, looking out over the varied field of life, found the discussion of sex intensely entertaining; but it apparently engaged his curiosity with about the same degree of intensity as the latest style in tooth-picks, the gravel in his own bladder, the excelling virtues of Epaminondas, or the inclination to goodness in Socrates. Had Shakspere reacted to the same fact in the same fashion, he could never have proved the master dramatist. That one constitutionally a dramatist could remain imperturbable in the face of these considerations is not to be thought of. And, indeed, Shakspere did react to them with an intensity almost terrible. Va-

1. Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*, pp. 30 ff.

rious theories have been advanced to explain this change in the mood beginning in 1603.[1] It may be that something in the life of Shakspere would (if known) explain it — some personal tragedy, or bad health, or a burning of the candle at both ends, or a woman,[2] or, perhaps, a combination of all these, and, in addition, his reading of Montaigne at this particular time. As a guess among guesses, the Montaigne guess is about as good as any.

One phase of the matter of the reaction of Shakspere to the general thought of Montaigne is, however, deserving of serious consideration. Underlying all the more extensive treatments of the Montaigne–Shakspere controversy is discernible a sort of feeling that *Hamlet* is the play in which Montaigne's influence is strongest. And, whatever may be the shortcomings of the book of Jacob Feis,[3] — however often in its pages "function is smothered in surmise," — one must concede that the judgment which sent him to *Hamlet* to find this influence was good. If the influence of Montaigne the thinker was to be found at all in Shakspere, one would be most likely to find it in that play, which, whatever else it may be, is preeminently the drama of thought. Hamlet certainly thinks and philosophizes more (whether better or not, is another matter) than any other character in Shakspere. He stands "environ'd with a wilderness" of doubts, and he alone among Shakspere's characters gives the impression of one eternally attempting to pass beyond the flaming ramparts of the world. It is small wonder that the general vein of skepticism and questioning running through *Hamlet* should have set students looking here first for the influence of Montaigne. This natural surmise is borne out by the facts. The average of Montaigne words to the page [4] makes for this conclusion; the large pro-

1. Longworth-Chambrun (*Giovanni Florio*, p. 109) suggests the execution of Essex.

2. The leading Shakspere scholars discountenance any definite cause by way of explanation.

3. *Shakspere and Montaigne*, London, 1884.

4. See p. 32.

portion of parallels in Montaigne and Hamlet [1] points almost undeniably to it. Add to this the date, the philosophical nature of the play, and the general consensus of substantiated and unsubstantiated opinion of those who have heretofore most laboriously interested themselves in the subject of Montaigne and Shakspere at all, and a strong case is made out for *Hamlet* as the play of all plays marked by the Montaigne influence. However strong this influence upon *Lear* may be, all considerations point to *Hamlet* as the play in which it is strongest and most pervasive.

The realm of conjecture is always delightful to wander through. But it is well to leave that portion of the field where the quicksands lie, and to plant one's feet again on ground more or less solid. We must appraise more exactly the nature and extent of the influence of Montaigne upon Shakspere. A study of the group of passages presented in the main body of this paper and the group of passages and words in the Appendices, will reveal many phases of influence. The first and most obvious, as well as the most extensive, relates to small units of phrase. This phrasal influence of Montaigne on Shakspere is the most important single point developed by this discussion. Shakspere was affected by Montaigne in much the same manner that the moderns are by Shakspere. One has but to read the contributions of the great Shakspereans, to notice how their style is simply intertissued with Shaksperean expressions. That Montaigne influenced Shakspere also as to units of expression larger than a phrase, and did so scores and scores of times, is now obvious. It is also highly probable that Shakspere drew upon the Florio Montaigne frequently for single words, some of them the most telling he ever had occasion to use. He was affected likewise time and again by rhetorical forms used by Montaigne even when not affected in the least by the thought of the passage, as in the question, "Whereto serves mercy but to confront the visage of offence?" [2] In numerous

1. See pp. 13 ff., 53 ff. 2. See Appendices, p. 54.

instances Shakspere's artistic expression was affected by Montaigne; and though one may not say that the general quality of his expression was so affected, one can say that Shakspere was affected by the general quality or nature of Montaigne's expression. As regards thought as distinguished from expression, Shakspere was also unquestionably affected in many instances by the isolated idea or small thought-unit of Montaigne. Sometimes also he was affected by passages of very considerable length. Less certainly he was affected in general thought and feeling by certain philosophical conceptions in Montaigne relating to human nature by and large, in *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *All's Well*, *Lear*, and *Hamlet*. When the number of expressions in Shakspere, and the number of the thoughts in Shakspere, which could never have taken on their final form but for a previous reading of Montaigne, are borne in mind, it may well be asked whether any other single work that Shakspere read influenced him in so many different plays [1] and in so great a variety of ways — words, phrases, passages, thoughts.

The great variety of ways in which Shakspere was influenced by Montaigne may be best made clear by an examination of the longest passage cited in the present paper as a possible origin of the Shakspere passage that resembles it, the advice of Polonius to Laertes.

Shakspere	Montaigne
Pol. And these few precepts in thy memory	Are in my judgement, no small *lets in a young Gentleman.* In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted *this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only endevour to make our selves knowne to them:* and we are more ready to utter such merchandize as we have, than to ingrosse and purchase new
(1) See thou character. *Give thy thoughts no tongue,*	(1) commodities. *Silence and modestie are qualities verie convenient*
(2) *Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.*	
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.	
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,	
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;	

1. Every play written by Shakspere in and after 1603.

(3) But *do not dull thy palm with entertainment*
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledg'd comrade. *Beware*
(4) *Of entrance to a quarrel;* but being in,
Bear 't that the opposed may beware of thee.[1]
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;
(5) *Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgement.*
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
(6) But *not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy;*
For the apparel oft proclaims the man,
And they in France of the best rank and station
Are most select and generous in that.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
(7) *And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.*
(8) *This above all: to thine own self be true,*
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

HAMLET, i, 3, 58.

to civil conversation. It is also nec-
(3) essary, that a young man *be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing, and close-handed, than prodigally-*
(7) *wastfull and lavish in his expences,* and *moderate in husbanding his wealth* when he shall come to possesse it. And *not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shal be spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivil importunity,*
(5) *to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour:* let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And
(5) *let him not seeme to blame that in others,* which he refuseth to doe himselfe, nor goe about to withstand common fashions, *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia.*
(6) "*A man may bee wise without ostentation,* without envie." *Let him avoid* those imperious images of
(2) the world, those *uncivil behaviours,* and *childish ambition,* wherewith Godwot, too: too many are pos-
(2) sest: that is, *to make a faire shew of that, which is not in him: endevouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devices were hard to come by, he* would by that meane *acquire unto himselfe the name of some*
(4) *peculiar vertue. . . . He shall be taught, not to enter rashly into discourse or contesting,* but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthie his strength; And then would I not have him imploy all the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by

1. See *supra,* p. 13, for a close parallel in thought and phrase in Montaigne.

(8) consequence *brevitie*. That *above all, he be instructed to* yeeld, yea *to quit his weapons unto truth*, as soone as he shall discerne the same. — I, 160, 161.

This parallel illustrates much better than the *Tempest* parallel the usual fashion in which Shakspere is affected in style and thought by Montaigne. It will be noticed that, although almost every single idea in the Montaigne passage affords a starting-point of thought for Shakspere, not for long does he follow it. He takes the suggestion as a stimulus merely. He starts off in one direction but soon wheels and in a twinkling is making in exactly the opposite line from that in which he started. A careful examination of the entire set of passages cited in the present discussion will convince the reader that Shakspere used the Montaigne passages in a fashion very similar to this in the great majority of cases in which he used them at all. Each Montaigne thought or suggestion he almost immediately makes "strange even to the disposition that it owes."

One is tempted to suggest in this connection that the dusty platitudes of Montaigne are made by Shakspere forever fresh. But let this not be interpreted as disparagement of Montaigne's genius. Both in his own right and as one in whom Shakspere displayed such unusual interest, Montaigne is entitled to the highest respect. All's not "fusty stuff" and "terms unsquared" "that indiscretion finds and dotage terms so." Somehow there has grown up among Shakspereans the abominable custom of degrading the literary merit of Shakspere's sources. No sooner is new material discovered which Shakspere read and liked and remembered, than the discoverer feels constrained to remark upon the poor quality of this material in comparison with Shakspere. This has come to be a convention. Having once laid hold of the happy figure of Shakspere the alchemist transmuting the baser metals into gold, we have never been able to let it go. It is time to give over the habit of stating that nature, in

making literary "graces dear" in Shakspere, "starved the general world beside." It is a sorry enough business to rest content with a bare acknowledgment of Shakspere's debt; it is ingratitude itself when, loath to acknowledge this debt but compelled to do so, we turn upon his creditors and rend them. To delight in matching Shakspere only "in comparisons with dirt" is to "grow dainty of his worth." Can anyone fear that the discovery of ever wider and wider Shakspere borrowings will tend to explain away the originality of Shakspere's genius or to dilute in any measure "the merit of his attribute"? Surely, to use Arnold's language about a different matter, surely the lesson has long been learned that the spirit of Shakspere is broader than any of the priceless forces that bore it onward, and that to his whole development, Montaigneism, like Marlowism or any other *ism*, is but a contribution.

Critics have often emphasized Shakspere's astonishing faculty of observation in the world of nature, ranging all the way from the various physical and mental attributes of dogs to the manifold cloud and color effects of the morning and evening sky. Not so much emphasis has been laid on his faculty, just as astonishing, of observing in the world of literature a diversity of literary detail and stylistic effects so infinite that the task of cataloguing them would be that of numbering sands. Here likewise he seems to have forgotten little. Now he reads and remembers Kyd's "killed, . . . because he walked abroad so late"; now Marlowe's, "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships?" now "Who was then the gentleman?" now the *ubi sunt*, or now the *dies irae* from some author "unregistered in vulgar fame." Reading as he ran, he observed innumerable telling phrases and expressions in the authors of his own time, and writing as he ran, he incorporated thousands of these things in his plays. If he did this with men of second rate, what must he have done when the Florio Montaigne fell into his hands? It was natural that even Shakspere's literary "nature,"

great as it was, should "recoil in an imperial charge." And react he did, powerfully, and possibly in a greater variety of ways than to any other work of his own day. However that may be, one may say with a fair degree of assurance, whether one believes with Mr. Raleigh [1] that Shakspere's library was relatively large, or with Professor Manly [2] that it was relatively small, that there was in it from 1603 to his death one volume, Florio's Montaigne, which he prized above a dukedom.[3]

1. *Shakespeare*, pp. 65, 66. 2. *Shakespeare Himself*, p. 21.

3. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, "Shakspere's Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition to Sir Thomas Moore," in *Studies in Philology;* The University of North Carolina Press, vol. XXII, no. 2, pp. 136, note, and 156, note. In this article, dated April 25, 1925, Mr. Tannenbaum expresses the opinion that the autograph in the Florio Montaigne in the British Museum is genuine.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PHRASES IN MONTAIGNE[1] USED BY SHAKSPERE[2] ONLY DURING 1603 AND AFTER

acquire no honor, Book I, p. 268.
annexed unto it, I, 26.
apply myself.
apprehend death, II, 338, I, 167.
blunt and abate ("blunt and rebate," in S.), II, 278.
bodiless vagaries ("bodiless creation ecstacy," in S.), I, 262.
in breath [opposite of out of breath], III, 362.
caste down [dejected], II, 54.
caste the gorge at, I, 177.
cheverell conscience, III, 16.
contempt of men, II, 349.
court holy water, I, 289.
dead drunk, II, 16.
deeply rooted, I, 296.
defend from [weather], I, 242.
depository and guardian ("my guardians, my depositories," in S.), III, 211.
discourse of reason, I, 84.
dodge and palter ("dogding and paltering," in S.), I, 289.
by the ears [at odds], III, 166.
entire and perfect, II, 313.
essay of virtue, I, 283.
extreamity of laughing ("extremity of joy," in S.), II, 410.
feades on miseries ("feed on dislike," in S.), III, 66.
fell flat, I, 238.
felled him dead, I, 19.
more by fortune then by merit, III, 172.
frame his discourse ("put your discourse in some frame," in S.), III.
frame himself to, II, 114.

1. Obviously some of these phrases belong rather to the English language of Florio's time than to Montaigne. Very many of them are, however, Montaigne's own personal phrases.

2. The particular passages in Shakspere's plays in which these phrases are to be found are not cited. A reliable concordance to Shakspere will enable anyone to verify. As there is no concordance to the Florio, the specific page is in each case cited.

framed himself ("frame yourself," in S.), I, 266.
furr'd gowns, II, 19.
fustian terms ("speak fustian," in S.), I, 141.
gaudy days ("gaudy night," in S.), III, 384.
haire to stand on end, I, 97.
ever harping upon ("still harping on," in S.), I, 21.
harts sorrow, I, 294.
have a smack of, I, 155.
by hazard, II, 279.
in hazard, I, 233.
heav'n's face, II, 138.
heaven's vault, II, 92.
his hour was come ("my hour is almost come," in S.), II, 492.
idle, immaterial, I, 168.
ignomy and shame, I, 60.
ill at ease, II, 52.
implement of warre, III, 210.
impudent [woman] and effeminate [man], I, 171.
in hugger-mugger, III, 5.
incident to, I, 160.
indissoluble knitting ("indissoluble knit," in S.), II, 119.
infinite variety [4 instances in M.], I, 150.
keep apart (to one side), III, 365.
keep in breath, III, 362.
keepe a coyle, II, 323.
our knowen world, III, 143.
long continued, III, 97.
make assay, I, 300.
make mowes, I, 230.
marre all, I, 123.
mumps and mowes ("mops and mowes" in S.), III, 60.
must be circumscribed, III, 266.
must of necessity, I, 360.
natural gifts, II, 154.
against the course of nature ("against the rules of nature," in S.), I, 193.
against nature, II, 235, 236.
our necessities, III, 383.
neighboring nations, I, 217.
nipping air, I, 245.
out of fashion, I, 167.
out of use, III, 229.
pay him home, I, 324.
pertaining to, I, 138.
pinch, . . . necessity, I, 338.
plaine fellow, III, 327.

pregant wit ("pregnant replies," in S.), II, 310.
priviledge of nature, III, 320.
prone to, III, 275.
rapt with admiration ("rapt in wonder" in S.), II, 24.
the rarest, I, 206.
make recantation, III, 276.
retired life, I, 270, III, 26.
rooted affection, I, 278.
sacrilegious theefe, II, 174.
set at naught, II, 186.
set you down [write down], I, 210.
short hold ("short holding" in S.), I, 80.
solemne march, I, 12.
spirits touched [excited], II, 114.
square his life, II, 132.
stand upon terms, II, 139, I, 203.
steepy mountaine ("steepy mount," in S.), III, 139.
stiff sinews ("sinews bear me stiffly up," in S.), II, 188.
strictly tied, I, 204.
strike amazement, I, 130.
stuffed with words ("stuffed with epithets," in S.), I, 354.
stuft with so horrible a multitude of volumes ("horribly stuffed with epithets of war," in S.), III, 185.
take arms against, II, 133.
take heart, II, 175, I, 78.
take notice of, I, 223.
take part with, II, 79.
take upon them to know, II, 257.
things to come, I, 224, II, 114.
tosse and turne, II, 104, II, 386.
tranquillitie of mind ("tranquil mind," in S.), I, 264.
tyrannous custome ("tyrant custom," in S.), III, 97.
unbridled opinions ("unbridled thoughts," in S.), II, 276.
unnaturall murder, II, 45.
vaste world, III, 141.
veiled eyes ("veil'd lids," in S.), I, 20.
well ordered, I, 196.
well weighed, I, 360.
wholly depend, II, 82.

APPENDIX B

SHAKSPERE

I love the people,
But do not like to stage me to their eyes.
Though it do well, *I do not relish well*
Their loud applause and Aves vehement.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE, i, 1, 68.

But the protractive *trials* of great Jove
To *find* persistive *constancy in men;*
The fineness of which metal is not found
In *fortune's* love; for then the bold and coward,
The wise and fool, the artist and unread,
The hard and soft, seem all affin'd and kin.
But, in the wind and tempest of her frown
Distinction, with a loud and powerful fan,
Puffing at all, winnows the light away;
And what hath mass or matter, by itself
Lies rich in virtue and unmingled.
NEST. With due observance of thy god-like seat,
Great Agamemnon, Nestor shall apply
Thy latest words. *In the reproof of chance*
Lies the true proof of men. The sea being smooth,
How *many shallow* bauble *boats dare sail*
Upon her patient breast, making their way
With those of nobler bulk!

MONTAIGNE

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not horne,
But that the utmost end of good should be, *I scorne*
Thy O well said, well done, well paid.
Book II, 356.

It was not enough to *have our resolutions* and discourse *beyond all* the affronts and *checks of fortune;* but that, moreover, it was verie *requisite to seeke for occassions whereby a man might come to the traill of it.* They will diligently quest and *seeke out for paine,* smart, necessitie, want and contempt, that *so they may combat* them, *and keepe their minde in breath.*
III, 230, 231.

Which is, that *vertue rejecteth facilitie* to be her companion: And that *an easefull,* pleasant, and declining *way* by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature are directed *is not the way of true vertue.* She requireth a craggie, rough, and thornie way. *She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall* (as that of Mettellus) by whose meanes fortune herselfe is pleased to *breake the roughnesse of his course.* — III, 232.

It is the *part of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue,* to seeke to squat it selfe in some hollow lurking hole, or to hide her selfe under some massie tombe, thereby *to shun the strokes* of fortune. *She never forsakes her course nor leaves*

But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage
The gentle Thetis, and anon behold.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, i, 3, 20.

You have been talk'd of since your travel much,
And that in Hamlet's hearing, for a quality
Wherein, they say, you shine. *Your* sum of *parts*
Did not together pluck such envy from him
As did *that one*, and that, *in my regard, Of the unworthiest siege.*
HAMLET, iv, 7, 72.

KING. He made confession of you,
And *gave you* such *a masterly report For art and exercise in your defence, And for your rapier most especially,*
That he cried out, 't would be a sight indeed
If one could match you. The scrimers of their nation,
He swore, had neither motion, guard, nor eye,
If you oppos'd them.
HAMLET, iv, 7, 96.

HAM. He [a young courtier] did comply with his dug before he suck'd it. Thus has he, and many more of the same bevy that I know the drossy age dotes on, only got the tune of the time and *outward habit of encounter;* a kind of *yesty collection*, which carries them through and through the most fond and winnowed opinions; and *do but blow them to their trials, the bubbles are out.*
HAMLET, v, 2, 195.

Make . . .
. . . each particular hair to stand on end.
HAMLET, i, 5, 17, 19.

her way, what stormie weather soever croose her. — III, 51.

Me thinks also, *that this nimbleness or agilitie*, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quicke motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, *are not onely unprofitable, but rather* contrary and *domageable for the use of militarie combate:* And we see *our men* do commonly *employ particular weapons, in their fence schools*, . . . Lachaz in Plato . . . saith, *he could never see any notable warrior come of a schoole of fence*, and *especially* from *among the maisters.* — II, 434.

They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some unknowne ayre, . . . puts mee in minde in the like matter, . . . of your young Courtiers. *They onely converse with men of their coate;* and with disdaine or pitty looke upon us, as if we were men of another world. *Take away their new fangled*, mysterious and *affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byase.* As farre to seeke and short of us, as we of them. — III, 236.

Command oure haire to stand an end.
I, 97.

Whether 't is nobler . . . to suffer . . .
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles.
HAMLET, iii, 1, 57.

Whether it be lawfull for a subject . . . to rebell *and take arms against* his Prince. — II, 133.

Could *beauty*, my lord, *have* better *commerce* than *with honesty?* . . . now *the time gives it proof* [proves the opposite of the above].
HAMLET, iii, 1, 110.

My friend thou dotest, the *love* [romantic love] *of thy times, hath small affinitie with* faith and *honesty*.
III, 120.

HAM. Or, if thou wilt needs marry, *marry a fool;* . . . I have heard of *your paintings* too, well enough. God has given you one face, and you make yourselves another. *You jig, you amble, and you lisp and nickname God's creatures and make your wantonness your ignorance.*
HAMLET, iii, 1, 143.

It is fond, inept and unseemely for Ladies in this commerce: it presently inclineth and bendeth to impudence. *Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles;* there lying sitteth in the chaire of honour; it is a by-way, which by a false posterne leads us unto truth. — III, 93.

Whereto serves mercy
But to confront the visage of offence?
HAMLET, iii, 3, 46.

Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulnesse, . . . *but to* increase a desire.
II, 344.

Ecstasy!
My *pulse*, as yours, doth temperately keep time.
HAMLET, iii, 4, 139.

During his *extasie*, he seemed to have neither *pulse* nor breath. — I, 93.

LEAR. No, no, no, no! Come, let's away to prison;
We two alone will sing like birds i' the cage.
When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness. *So we'll live,*
And pray, and sing, *and tell old tales,* and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; *and we'll talk with them too,*
Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out;
And take upon 's the mystery of things
As if we were God's spies.
LEAR, v, 3, 8.

And fit for us to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begun, when ended, what way or course was taken, *what accidents hapned,* how long it continued; *all our voyages, where, and how long we were from home;* our marriages, *who died, and when;* the receiveing of good or bad tidings, *who came, who went,* changing or removing of household officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such like matters.
I, 241.

OTH. Yet, 't is *the plague of great ones* [cuckoldry];
Prerogativ'd are they less than the base.
'T is destiny unshunnable, like death.
Even this forked plague [cuckoldry] is fated to us,
When we do quicken.
OTHELLO, iii, 3, 273.

MACBETH. *Mouth-honour*, breath
Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.
MACBETH, v, 3, 27.

I hold it ever
Virtue and cunning [knowledge] were *endowments greater*
Than nobleness and riches. Careless heirs
May the two latter darken and expend.
PERICLES, iii, 2, 27.

Lest this great *sea of joys rushing upon me.*
PERICLES, v, 1, 194.

PER. For I have heard it said
There is an art which in their piedness shares
With great creating Nature.
POL. Say there be;
Yet Nature is made better by no mean
But Nature makes that mean; *so, over that art*
Which you say adds to Nature, is *an art*
That Nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentler scion to the wildest stock,

Lucullus, *Caesar, Pompey*, Anthony, Cato, and divers *other gallant men were Cuckholds*, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. — III, 89.

The long-continued frequence of his accident, should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: *It is almost become a custome* [Cuckholdry]. — III, 97.

[A king talking.] —
The *honour we receive of those which feare* and stand in awe of *us, is no true honour*. Such respects are rather due to royaltie, to majesty, than to me. . . . They follow for countenance, and of custome, or rather my fortune than my selfe: hoping thereby to encrease theirs. . . . I see nothing about me but inscrutable hearts, hollow mindes, fained lookes, dissembled speeches, and counterfeit actions. — I, 308.

Nobilitie is a worthy, *goodly quality*, and introduced with good reason, *but* in as much as it *dependeth on others*, and *may fall to the share of my vicious and worthlesse fellowe*, it is in my estimation *farre shorte of vertue.* — III, 73.

Another . . . *tide of mischiefe;* that . . . *came rushing upon mee.*
— III, 308.

But were I of the trade, *I would naturalize Arte, as much as they Artize nature.* — III, 102.

And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race. *This is an art*
Which does mend Nature, change it rather, but
The art itself is Nature.
WINTER'S TALE, iv, 4, 86.

PER. One of these is true.
I think *affliction may subdue the cheek,*
But not take in the mind.
WINTER'S TALE, iv, 4, 585.

Prithee, man, look cheerly. These old fellows
Have their ingratitude in them hereditary.
Their blood is cak'd, 't is cold, it seldom flows;
'T is lack of kindly warmth they are not kind;
And *nature, as it grows again toward earth,*
Is fashion'd for the journey, dull and heavy.
TIMON OF ATHENS, ii, 2, 223.

POM. Well, *I know not*
What counts harsh *Fortune casts upon my face;*
But *in my bosom shall she never come,*
To make my *heart* her vassal.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, ii, 6, 54.

What matter is it, if *wee bend our armes*, so we *writhe not our thoughts?* II, 507.

God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth subtract their life. It is the onely *benefite of old age. Their* last *death shall be so much the lesse* full languishing and *painefull:* it shall then kill but one halfe or quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without strugling or paine: it was *the naturall terme of it's continuance.* That part of my being, with divers others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which, during the vigor of my age, held the first ranke. *Thus I sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishness* will it be in my understanding, *to feele the start of that fall, already so advanced.* III, 375.

It sets more wrinckles in our mindes, then on our foreheads. — III, 35.

Arcesilas lying sicke of the gowt, Carneades comming to visit him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away againe, but he called him backe, and *shewing him his feet and brest*, said unto him, *There is nothing come from thence* [*feet*] [*breast*] *hither.* This hath somewhat a better garb; for he feeleth himselfe *grieved with sicknesse*, and would faine

ANT. What, girl! *though grey*
Do something *mingle with our younger brown, yet ha' we*
A brain that nourishes our nerves, and *can*
Get goal for goal of youth.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, iv, 8, 19.

be rid of it, *yet is not his heart vanquished* or weakened thereby.
II, 192.

As drie, as sluggish, and as unwieldy *as I am, I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.* — III, 71.

APPENDIX C

WORDS IN FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE USED BY SHAKSPERE ONLY DURING 1603 AND AFTER

accessible
accoastings
acquire
acquisition
adjoyned
adulterar
adulterous
advantaged
advantageous
adversities (plural)
affectionate
affectionately
affirmation
affinity
affront
agnize
allege
allowance
allure (vb.)
allurements
alphabet
ambiguous
amplest (superlative)
amplifie
annales
annex
antidote
application
appurtenance
ardent
arimetician
arrerages
arrogancy
artist (noun)
artist (adj.)
assaulted (pret.)
assent
associated [allied]
attribute (vb.)
auricular
authorized
availe (noun)
avarice
aver
avouched (pret.)
avow
backside
bastardizing
belching (adj.)
bellyfull
benefactor
benignity (benign in S.)
bent brows
benummed
besorted
beverage
bewailing
birdlime
blanch (whiten)
blasphemous
blockhead
blockish
bodiless
booties
branded
breaknecke (adj.)
brimme (of a precipice)
broths (pl.)
brunt
building (of mental operations, fig.)

burchern-twigs
butler
calamities (pl.)
calmnesse
calumnation
cannonize (inf.)
captiously (captious in S.)
carelessness
carnally
casting (thinking)
casual
casually
catalogue
catars (catahrs)
catastrophe (end of a play)
cauldron
cauterized
celebrated
cellars
censurer
cester (cistern)
changed (adj.)
cherurgions (chirurgeonly in S.)
chill (adj.)
ciment (cement) noun
ciment (vb.)
circumscribed (in sense of limitation)
clap (sing. noun)
clasp (vb.)
clatter
cleansed (pp.)
clemency
cloathed (pp.)
clue (clew)
coape (of heaven)
coape (noun)
cocke (of a ship)
coherent
collaterall
collection
combatted
combined (adj.)
combustion
comeliness
commix
commodious
communalitie
compeer
complemental (complimental)
compounding (adj.)
compunction (compunctious in S.)
conclave
concupiscible
conditioned
confidently
confluence
conjecturally (conjectural in S.)
consangunitee
conspiring
constrained (adj.)
consumation
contentious
contest
contestation [contest]
contraction
convulsion
cordial (adj.)
corrected
correspondent
corrupters
corselet
cosengeoman
counterchange
craftily
crank (winding-sb.)
creak
credence
credible (credibly in S.)
credulity
criminal
croke (vb.)
crouching
cunningest
cup bearer
curiositee
darkened
dead drunk
debauched
debonair
decently (decent) in S.

decorum
defeat (kill)
demerit
dependency
depravation
depraved (adj.)
depute
deride
derogate (vb.)
derogation
descent (material sense)
deservedly
desperation
destroyer
diamiter
differing (adj.)
difficult
difficultie
dilated (adj.)
diminution
disaster
disciplined
discommendable (discommend in S.)
discourtisie
disjoint
dislocation (dislocate in S.)
dislodged
disnature
disproportioned
disquiet (vb.)
dissignment
dissipation
distaste
distempering
distinctly
distribute
distributed
distribution
disturbance
diversely
diversity
divisions (separations-pl.)
divulged (pp.)
dizzy (vb.) [to render unsteady]
dodge
dolorous
donation
doubling
downe bed
drousinesse
dusty
eagerness
easiest
eastward
eftsoones
egregiously
elbow (vb.)
elect (sb.)
elevate (vb.)
embalm
eminence
eminent (of persons)
empale
emphasis
enmities (pl.)
enoble
enormous
entangle
enticement
entreating
entrenchings (entrench in S.)
enveagled
enviously
epicurisme
equivilent
equivocation
erudition
essential
evasion
evidences (pl.)
excessive
excusable
exempt (trans-vb.)
exempted
exercise (vb.)
existence (exist in S.)
experienced
expertness
exposed (to the weather)
extinct in

extirpation (extirpate in S.)
extolled
facile
faithfulness
fardel (in M. a vb.; in S. a noun)
fasting (sb.)
favourably
featly
fellest (adj.)
fenne
fennie
fervancy
fesant (pheasant)
fetters (sb.)
fire-brand (of sex)
fish-pond
fitly
flap (sb.)
flatlong
flawed
flay [*Lear* first]
flutter
fondness
ford
forepassed
forerunning
foreshow
forethinking
forgone
fraughting
freewill
freshest
freshness
freshwater
frienged (fringed)
frisk
fruitfulnesse
frustrate (pp.)
fude (feud)
full grown
fundamental
fyles
gaged (wagered)
gaming
gardation
garner (sb.)
gash (verb)
generative
generosity
gests (tilts, doings)
gibe (inf.)
gingle
glad (inf.)
gladdeth
glimpse
gloryed
glut (vb.)
gluttonous
goared (adj.)
goatishness
gowty
grange
grass greene
gratitude
gravel
gravestone
gropping
grubbed up
grubd (dug)
gummes (of the teeth)
haltred
handed (apparent participle)
Handy-dandy
hardnesse
harping upon
harry
heath
hecticke
hemmed in
hereditarie
hereto
heretofore
historical
honest minded (honest mind in S.)
hothouse
hugenesse
hulling (fig.)
ill-breeding
ill hafted (tender hafted in S.)
illustrate (vb.)

imbecillitie
immaterial
immoderate
imperfect
impertinancy
impetuous
implement
imploy
imported
importing (adj.)
importunate
improperly (improper in S.)
impudently
incensing
incestuous
incidency
incident
incident to
inclinable
incontinency
indiscretion
indisposition
indissoluble
indistinctly (indistinct in S.)
indulgent
industriously
inequality
inexplicable
information
infusion
ingeniously
ingredient
ingrosse (vb.)
inhibit
inhibition
initiate
inkling
innumerable
inseperately (inseparate in S.)
institution
instructed
instrumental
intelligent
intentive (intentively in S.)
interdicted
interessed
invert
invitings (sb.)
irreperably
irresolute
jointed
journal
jovial
justicer
justification
knower
laboursome
lanched
languishing (used in 1400; next instance 1611)
largeness
lees
lengthening
leprosy
lewdness
limited (adj.)
litigous
love-lines
loveliness
lowness
luxuriously
magnificence
maliciously
maligne
manchilde
manlike
manslaughter
mantled
many-headed
marble-hearted
marineers
marjoram
marshell (vb.)
masonry
mattress
maturity (mature in S.)
maxim
medals
medicinal
menaces (sb. pl.)

men-children
mental
mention (sb.)
messes (pl.)
microcosmos (microcosm in S.)
milky
minded (of a mind to)
miraculous
missive
moderate (vb.)
moderation
molestation
monopoly
mortally
morter
multiplying
mungrel
musket
mutable
mutation
naturalize
navigation
neatly
negotiations
niceness
nicety
ninny
northerly
nourishing
novelty
numberless
nummed (benumbed)
oblique
obstinately
ocular
opportune
oppositions
oppugned (oppugnancy in S.)
ordinary (noun)
outgo
outwardly
outwent
overleape
overpay
overplus
overt
overvalue
overwrested
padling
paradoxiced (paradox in S.)
parrallel
parricide
particularize
particularly
passable
passive
peg
pelfe
perfidious
perished (pp.)
permanent
perseverance
perspicuous
pertinently (pertinent in S.)
perturbe
pervert
pettard
philosophical
pilfering (sb.)
pinching (adj.)
plain fellow
plaited
planetary
plausible
pleurisy
plunge (fig. and trans.)
ponder
portable
pourtraiture
powdered (beef)
pranked up
precedent (adj.)
precipice
precipitate
precipitation
pregnant wit
prejudice (sb.)
preoccupate (preoccupied in S.)
prescience
preservative

preserver
president
principalities
profitably
prognostication
prohibition
propension
prophesying
proposition
prosperities
prostitute (vb.)
provincial
ptisycke (tisick in S.)
publication
purrs
purvay (purveyor in S.)
pyramid
quarrelous
quary
questionable
quickness
raised (adj.)
raked up
ranged (pp.) (ordered)
rapsody
rapt
rarest
the rarest
rarity
real
rebate (vb.)
rebound
recantation
receiver
reciprocal
recoiling
reconcilement
reconciliation
redeliver
refer
refusal
regardful
regular
reinforcement
reiterated
rejoycings
rejoynders
relation (narration)
relative
remarkable
remissenesse
remonstrance
repining
reporter
reprobate (sb.)
reprobation
repugnant
requisite
residing
resound
restie
retract
retrogadation
reubarb
review
rhymer
rigd
ripeness
roar
roast-meat
roguing
roguish
rooft
rooted (adj.)
rooted (pret.)
rooted in
roughness
rudder
rudest
rumble
rurall
sacrilegeous
savory
scandalous
scantling
scatteringly (scattering, adj. in S.)
seame
secretest (adj.)
seemliness (seemly in S.)
seld

seldseene (seld-shown in S.)
selected (select in S.)
seller (cellar)
sent (scent, vb.)
seriously
shackle
sharpened
sharpness
shielded
shrugge (vb.)
shunning
singularities (pl.)
sithence
skreene (screen)
slacknesse
slaver
sliding
slowness
sluggish
smallness
smart (sb.)
smilingly
snaffle
soberly
softness
solicitation
soliciting
solid (fig.)
solidity
sophisticated
sottish
sovereignly
sowrely
spectator
speeding (adj.)
splint
sprigs
springe
springie
squared to
staid (adj.)
stale (sb.)
steaded
steepy
sterility
stiffly
storehouse
stoutness
stowed
straying
strictly
stripe (sb.)
strived
stubble (fig.)
stupid
stupify
subsequent
subsist
substitution
subtilty
suitable
sumpter
superficially
superior
supernatural
superstition
superstitiously
support (noun)
surcease (sb.)
surpass
surplice
survivor
suspend
suttleties
swelter
Swizzers
syllable
symbolize (symbol in S.)
syment (cement, vb. and fig.)
tartness
tassel
temporized
tenure
testimonies (pl.)
thereunto
"thick lips"
thitherward
thunderclap
thunderstroke
ticklish

tipple
tittle-tattle
total
tow
town crier
tract
transcend
transmigration (transmigrates in S.)
treasonable
trill
turbants (turbans in S.)
turbulent
tyrannical
tyrannically
ulcer
unbridled
uncircumsized (circumsized in S.)
undergone
undiscerned (undiscernable in S.)
undoing
undoubtedly
unforced
unfortifie
unlimited
unpolluted
unproper
unproportionate (unproportioned in S.)
unquietly
unremovably
unserviceable
unspoken
unstable
untruss
unwonted
upspring
urgent
usher
variance
vastitie (vastidity in S.)
venal
virginlike
visable
voluptuousness
watred
waywardness
whereunto
whore-monger
windowed
wire
wonderfully
wondrously
wracke
wronging

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